IL CONTE UGOLINO E L'ARCIVESCOVO RUGGIERI A SKETCH FROM...

Henry Clark Barlow

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IL CONTE UGOLINO

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L'ARCIVESCOVO RUGGIERI;

A SKETCH FROM THE PISAN CHRONICLES.

BY

H. C. BARLOW, M.D.

AUTHOR OF
FRANCESCA DA RIMINI, HER LAMENT AND VINDICATION;
LETTERATURA DANTESCA;
ETC. ETC. ETC.

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IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SIXTH CENTENARY

OF

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This work, which has been in hand for years, is founded on the examination, in some instances, of upwards of one hundred Codici, and is the result of the matured study of Dante's life and times, his science and political principles. In the Divina Commedia Dante has demonstrated the fatal influence of the temporal power of the Pope, the necessity for the complete union of Italy, and the establishment at Rome of the seat of Government, facts which force themselves on the convictions of all reflecting minds. The work has now been published in anticipation of the Sixth Centenary of the Poet, and its celebration at Florence, in May, 1865.

Newington Butts, Surrey,
Nov. 1864.

IL CONTE UGOLINO.

Tu dei saper ch' io fu 'l Conte Ugolino.
INF. XXXIII. 13.

On the sunny side of the Lung'Arno at Pisa, between the Ponte di Mezzo and the Ponte a Mare, but not far from the former, and just where the noble river reaches its most northern curve, is a well frequented street, the Via di S. Frediano, that leads past the University where Galileo taught, to the Piazza de' Cavallieri, a triangular space which it enters near the right angle. Here is the Palace erected for the knights of St. Stephen by Vasari, on the site of a more ancient edifice built by Niccola Pisano for the Anziani of the old Republic, from whom the Piazza then took its name. Adjoining is the church of the patron saint of the order, where formerly stood that of S. Sebastian.

On the opposite side, near the apex of the triangle, is a more modest looking mansion with frescoes on the front attributed to Poccetti, a clock in the centre, and an arched-way beneath that leads, by a short passage, to the green sward of the Duomo, where the Baptistery, the Campanile, and the Campo-santo form with it an unrivalled group.

At the right-hand side of the arch, in what was formerly called "the seven ways," stood the grim tower of the Ghibelline family Gualandi. In a room of this tower the republic kept its eagles when moulting, and hence it was sometimes called the *muda*, from *mudare*, or *mutare*, as the process of changing the plumage was termed. Here took place that dreadful deed which has given to Pisa a painful celebrity in the pages of the Divina Commedia. Here the Count Ugolino de' Gherardeschi, his children and grandchildren were starved to death. From that time the tower received a new name, and was called "the Tower of famine."

In the codice of the Divine Poem preserved in the public library at Dresden, there is a neat drawing of the tower in its ruined condition, as it appeared in the 16th century, with the following note—"Thus in 1556, Cosimo I. gave it to the Fraternity of S. Stephen, and Vasari included it in the Palace now named of the Clock (Palazzo dell' orologio). Within it may still be seen the well from which the water was drawn for the eagles of the republic, which were kept here, and on festival days were carried before the authorities, ornamented with golden crowns. Several of the high steps which remain show clearly the use of the muda." All traces of these things, however, have now been forgotten, and the curiosity of strangers who visit the site is limited to a view of the exterior only.

But the story of Count Ugolino is famous in the annals of Pisa as well as in the pages of Dante.

In that vast storehouse of early Italian history, the "Rerum Italicarum Scriptores" of Muratori, (Tom. xxiv.) there is a chronicle, by an unknown author, entitled "Monumenta Pisana" from the year 1089 to 1389, printed from an MS. in the Laurenziana, at Florence, in which we read as follows.

"The Count Ugolino was a Pisan, and a very great gentleman of the family of the Conti della Gherardesca di Pisa, and the Pisans having been defeated at Melora by the Genovesi, the cities of Tuscany, seeing them reduced to extremity, resolved to make war upon them. And the Pisans, being unable to resist, took council among themselves to elect a Captain-general differing in political principles from the Comune and the people of Pisa, and they elected this Count Ugolino, for he was a very great gentleman, a citizen of Pisa, and a great friend of the Florentines, the Pisans saying—'This man will be respected and spared by Tuscany for the friendship he has with the Florentines.' And being made Captain, in a year from this time, the Lucchesi, with the assistance of the Florentines and the people of other Tuscan cities, began to make war upon Pisa, and demanded Librafatta to be given up to them, urging that they would guard it for the best. Whereupon the Count Ugolino held a council with the Pisans, and advised them to give up Librafatta to the Lucchesi in order to be at peace with them. Thus he gave to the Lucchesi Librafatta, Asciano, Avane, and many other little towns on the side of Lucca; and to the Florentines he gave Pontadera, Calcinaja, and many other places

on their side; whence Pisa remained with few of these dependencies. And more than this, he kept the city in great scarcity of provisions, and for these things the Pisans put him and his children to death." (p. 979). The same anonymous author states, "In the year two hundred and eighty-eight, Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, and the Gualandi, and Lanfranchi, and certain of the Orlandi, and those of Ripafatta, and many other citizens, drove the Count Ugolino from the lordship of Pisa, seized him and his children, and threw them into prison, and caused them all to die of famine in a tower in the Piazza of the Anziani, which was afterwards called 'la Torre della Fame,' so he and his four children died of hunger, and were buried in the church of the Franciscans."

These two extracts from the old Pisan chronicler give the general facts, but not the history of this inhuman act. The writer, whoever he may have been, was not friendly disposed towards the victims, but he honestly shows that Ugolino, in September 1284, as Podestà of Pisa and Captain of the people, acted to the best of his judgment, and succeeded in saving the Republic.

This is confirmed by Giovanni Villani (lib. vii., 97), who declares that, if the Florentines had not been induced by Ugolino to desert the league against the Pisans, "the city of Pisa would have been taken and destroyed, and reduced to a mere village, for so it had been ordered." But the Florentines caused the Senesi to send their cavalry for the protection of the Guelfs, much to the indignation of the Genovesi

and the Lucchesi. Pisa was a Ghibelin city devoted to the empire; when the Guelfic faction prevailed, it was through the influence of other Tuscan cities of that party, and more especially of Florence. Here, as elsewhere, the opposing factions often sought by the most unscrupulous means to obtain the ascendancy. After the disastrous battle of Melora, a small rocky island near the Porto Pisano, fought on St. Sisto's day, August 6th, 1284, a day hitherto so famous for victories, the Republic, which previously had been in great power and prosperity, ruling over Sardinia, Corsica, and Elba, fell, and never recovered this fatal blow.

Forty-three years before (May 3, 1241, so Balbo) at this very spot, the Pisan fleet, in union with that of Frederic II., intercepted the Genovese galleys carrying the French Bishops to a council at Rome, and took them all prisoners. Now it was Pisa's turn to suffer, and suffer she did, for the bravest among her sons were either slain or carried off captive, and it became a proverb, "Whoever would see Pisa, let him go and behold her a prisoner in Genoa."

The charge brought against Ugolino of having purposely contributed to this defeat by giving the signal for flight, in order to gratify his ambition to rule at Pisa in the absence of political opponents, would seem to be unfounded, for the Pisans, who had hastily engaged in the battle, were effectually beaten before the signal was given. In July, 1284, they had sent an expedition against Genoa, but the

Genovesi having, as they said, disarmed their galleys, could not then accept the challenge, yet promised to do so as soon as possible, and they kept their word.

It may have been, that the Genovesi found themselves confronted under a disadvantage, and resolved to deceive their enemies. For when the Pisane had returned home, and had given up all prospects of fighting for the present, suddenly, in the following month, a strong hostile fleet, commanded by Uberto Doria, appeared off Porto Pisano. Great was the surprise of the citizens, great the haste and confusion to get their vessels ready and the fighting men on board. Some were manned at the Port, others in the Arno between the two bridges. The whole country rose up in arms; from the plain, and from the hills men hurried to their ships with glee and festivity, nothing doubting but that a grand victory would crown their patriotic zeal. The standards of the fleet were hoisted amid the vivas of the multitude, the flourish of trumpets, and universal exultation. The Podestà, Alberto Morosini, a Venetian, and nephew to the reigning Doge, got on board, and the gonfalon of the Republic floated gallantly from the largest vessel in the stream. The venerable Archbishop, surrounded by his clergy, standing on the bridge, stretched forth his hands to heaven, and invoked a blessing on their arms. On the seats of their galleys, the mariners and soldiers, piously kneeling, received the parting benediction, in the midst of an applauding crowd that lined both

sides of the river. But one little circumstance threw a momentary gloom over the scene. A small silver crucifix attached to the flag-staff of the Comune fell into the water, and this was deemed by many an ill omen.

The Pisan fleet went forth to meet the enemy, and came up in three divisions. Ugolino commanded the right wing, Il Conte Saraceni the left, and the Podestà led on the centre. The power of the state, and almost its very political existence depended on the issue of the fight. The Pisans, after performing heroic acts of valour, were beaten with the loss of 16,000 men in killed and prisoners, and forty galleys sunk and taken. Then to the premature transport of expectant victory, and the intense anxiety which hung upon the fortune of the day, succeeded dismay and consternation, and a heart-rending burst of woe at the overwhelming calamity which had fallen upon them, for there was not a family in Pisa which had not to lament the death or captivity of some of its members. The Count saved what ships he could, and himself returned unhurt; his son Lotto was taken prisoner. No charge of treachery would seem to have been brought against Ugolino at the time, nor of want of capacity, and as for cowardice, it was incompatible with his energetic character; the accusation reads like a modern imputation. The Count had more enemies at Pisa than friends, and was envied as well as hated; no means were left untried to work his ruin, and calumnies and misrepresentations were propagated among the

people with malicious pertinacity. One of the most unfounded was the very means by which he had saved Pisa from utter destruction, by giving up the places already mentioned. Another was retaining the Pisan citizens in the prisons of Genoa to serve his own political purposes. But the condition of their release, the ceding to the Genovesi the Castello di Castro in Sardinia, was one which could not be entertained, and that his refusal to do so arose from a patriotic motive is proved by the fact that the prisoners themselves objected to return on this stipulation; and, subsequently, when the Republic had somewhat recovered from its calamity, and under a succeeding ruler began once more to gather strength, Pisa would no longer listen to it.

Both these false charges were used by his enemies, when it suited their purpose, to excite the people against him. Ugolino, however, was not always unpopular; when Fortune smiled upon him, the people approved. The Genovesi were so indignant at the peace which Pisa had obtained through his means, that they attacked and destroyed Porto Pisano. Ugolino repaired the Port and rebuilt the tower, when, a violent storm arising, many ships of the Genovesi were driven ashore, and a valuable prize of men and money fell into the hands of the Pisans, much to the satisfaction of all parties.

The ruin of Ugolino was owing not to his political acts, but to the personal hatred of the Archbishop of Pisa, Ruggieri degli Ubaldini di Mugello. In the "Memorie Istoriche della Città di Pisa," by Mon-

signor Paolo Tronci (Livorno, 1682), this is clearly shown, and it agrees with the historical facts related by Villani and others, and with the poetic representations of Dante.

The Archbishop was the head of the Ghibeline, who were eager for a return to power. The Guelfs, at that time, had two chiefs; Nino de' Visconti, Giudice di Gallura in Sardinia, was the head of one party; il Conte Ugolino of the other. The Archbishop and the Count were both equally ambitious of absolute rule. To get rid of the Guelfs, the best way was to set one party against the other. It is generally related, that Ugolino first made advances to the Archbishop to rid him of his rival, or rather associate, the judge, "Giudice Nin gentile," who was a near relative, a daughter's son. This seems somewhat doubtful; but it is certain, that the proud spirit of Ugolino could ill endure any colleague, and if he did not suggest, he at least permitted the judge and his party to be driven from the government, himself removing to a villa at Settimo while it took place.

Monsignor Tronci was a canon of the cathedral of Pisa, and vicar-general of the Archbishop; his clerical capacity created in him a tender feeling for the character of his patron's ancient predecessor, and in that part of his book which relates to Ugolino, he represents the Prelate as acting purely from a patriotic principle, and paints the Count Ugolino in the most odious colours. But, at the same time, perhaps moved by a respectful sentiment towards the high dignity of judges in general, he also represents

"Giudice Nin" to have been actuated by a like praiseworthy motive to get rid of his grandfather, because, as he says, Ugolino sought to establish himself tyrant of Pisa. Hence, as a lover of his country, he began to raise the indignation of the citizens against him, and also sought to persuade another judge, il Giudice d' Arborea in Sardinia, to join in the conspiracy. It was quite time, therefore, for Ugolino to guard himself against so dangerous an associate. From the war which the gentle "Nin" made against Pisa and its Ghibelin ruler, after the death of Ugolino, we may judge of the reality of his patriotic intentions. In all probability, the grandson was induced to oppose his grandfather by the advice and encouragement of the Archbishop, to whom it was a matter of indifference which section of the Guelfs was sacrificed first; and this promised the easier victory. Tronci relates, that Ugolino sought in every way to become friends with the Archbishop, in order to ruin Nino. If so, this was very unwise, no less than ungenerous; we can scarcely believe that Nino did the same thing to ruin the Count. The patriotic Prelate saw his advantage, and, acting on the safe principle that a house divided against itself cannot stand, with a gloss of heroic devotion, assisted by the friends of the Count, first raised the populace against Nino, and then against Ugolino. (See *Giovanni Villani*, l. viii., 120, 127).

Even on Tronci's own showing, something less noble than pure patriotism stirred the Archbishop's breast. He thirsted for the blood of Ugolino and of

his family, in revenge for the violent death of a nephew, whom the Count, greatly incensed at an attempted interference with his authority in reference to the duty on grain, in a fit of anger had killed. Buti, however, says it was a relative of Ugolino who slew the Archbishop's nephew, in jealousy, because both admired the same lady. Landino repeats this story; but Villani says nothing about it; he merely notices that Ugolino was accused of having poisoned his own nephew, the Count Anselmo da Capraja, through envy of his popularity. Villani unmasks the Archbishop's character, and places his motives in their true light. He says—"As it had been arranged by the Archbishop of Pisa and his followers to drive the judge Nino and his party from Pisa with treachery and the consent of the Count Ugolino, no sooner was the force of the Guelfe thus diminished, than the Archbishop gave orders to betray the Count Ugolino also." (l. viij., 120). This is confirmed in the fragment of Pisan history, also by an anonymous author, preserved in Muratori's great work (Tom. xxiv.). It is there stated (p. 652), that in the month of June 1289, there was a conspiracy of the Archbishop Ruggieri and other Ghibelins of his party, with the consent of Ugolino, to expel from the Signoria Giudice Nino di Gallura, who was Podestà and captain of the people in the palace of the Comune, and that, as the Count went to Settimo to be out of the way on the occasion, Nino sending to him for assistance and receiving none, was obliged to quit the city, whereupon the Archbishop, aided by friends of the Count,

seized the palace of the Comune, and having driven away those who held it, locked the doors and carried off the keys. Some of the more intimate of the Count's friends sought to persuade Guelfo, the Count's nephew, to enter and take possession of it, but il Brigata, Ugolino's grandson, persuaded him to wait till the Count returned. It is stated that the Archbishop, being much importuned on the subject, went to reside there himself, which gave great offence to Ugolino, who, when he returned to Pisa, found the Prelate in possession, occupying the former apartments of "Giudice Nin."

The Archbishop greatly desired to become the colleague of Ugolino in the government, but to this the Count would in no way consent; neither would he submit to share it with another Ghibelin, the Count Aldibrandino of Santa Fiore, whom the Ghibelins sought to force upon him. On the morning of the 1st of July, according to this authority, the Count and the Archbishop met in the church of S. Sebastian to debate on the matter, and, unable to come to a decision, the meeting was adjourned till the afternoon. Tronci says, that the question at issue was the return of the prisoners from Genoa, a subject on which the personal feelings of many were readily excited, who could not so easily comprehend the reasons of state which counselled their continuance till the term of their captivity, thirteen years, had been completed. Previously to this meeting, the Vicar-General states, that the Prelate, having called before him many of the citizens who were his per-

sonal friends, opened his mind freely to them about Ugolino, showing how necessary it was to get rid of him. "The discourse which the venerable Archbishop delivered," says Tronci, "was founded on the sure basis of truth, and had such influence on the souls of these devoted listeners, that it was unanimously resolved to make away with him without delay."—"*di levarselo davanti à gl' occhi.*" The 1st of July was fixed upon for carrying out this resolution; the place appointed was the church of S. Sebastian, and the pretext, a council to consult about the liberation of the prisoners at Genoa.

The Count, suspecting that the Archbishop had evil in his heart, took the precaution to come to the council attended with a guard, and was careful to give no offence by what he said. The purpose of the Archbishop and his party consequently failed, and another morning meeting, says Tronci, was appointed, in which nothing decisive transpired, and it was adjourned till the afternoon. This was the meeting mentioned by the anonymous author of the Fragment, and by some placed on the 11th. The Archbishop's impatience could ill-brook delay. The Count deemed it needful to send for his friends; and his grandson Brigata went to the Ponte della Spina to procure boats for their transport. The Archbishop heard of this, and became alarmed. He exhorted his friends that there was no time to be lost, and truly the state of things looked very critical, so they seized what arms they could find, and rushing into the street began to raise the people, crying out,

"*Viva il Popolo!*" and "Death to the traitor Ugolino!" The Count, in the meantime, had re-received succour from Messer Tieri da Bientina, who arrived with a thousand men, and at once raised the cry, "To arms! to arms!" Then the contest began. The great bell of the Palace of the Comune was sounded on the part of the Archbishop, that of the Palace of the People on the part of Ugolino. The battle raged on both sides with horse and foot; men fought from the towers and roofs of houses—in the streets—on the bridges, the quays, and all along the thoroughfares between the two palaces—by the Carraja di Santo Frediano, and by the way of S. Sebastian, and by the other streets—a struggle to the death, that lasted from soon after noon to near the hour of vespers. Messer Atho, nephew of the Archbishop, was killed, with many others; but his party prevailing, and that of Ugolino giving way, the latter, with his friends, drew towards the Palace of the People, and there making a brave stand, defied the arms of their enemies. The palace was assaulted with fury; the besieged defended themselves with desperate valour, and a natural son of the Count, and a grandson, fell in the conflict. Had a band of faithful adherents, of the Upezzinghi or the Gaetani, rallied and attacked the Archbishop in the rear, Ugolino and his family might have been saved. The Prelate possibly feared this, and therefore resolved to make a speedy end by setting fire to the building, which he did. Resistance was no longer possible. Amid the smoke and flames and crushing timbers

and falling stones, the entrance was forced, and the infuriated mob rushed in with the Archbishop at their head.

Il Conte Ugolino, with his two sons, il Conte Gaddo, and Uguccione della Gherardesca, and his two grandsons, Nino, detto il Brigata, (a son of the deceased Conte Guelfo, the eldest son of Ugolino, who had married Elena of Suabia, a natural daughter of Enzo, King of Sardinia,) and Anselmo, son of the Conte Lotto, then a prisoner at Genoa, were seized and put in irons, and kept prisoners in the palace for more than twenty days, until the Tower of the Gualandi could be got ready to receive them.* The grandson of Ugolino, who fell fighting in defence of the Palazzo del Popolo, would appear to have been Arrigo, the brother of Nino. The Archbishop then became Lord of Pisa, and Rector and Governor of the Comune by himself and Vicar for five months and more. During his rule, "Giudice Nin gentile" left no means untried to obtain again authority in Pisa, but being disappointed in his attempts, retaliated on the citizens by burning their villages in the Val d'Arno. The government of the Archbishop did not give entire satisfaction; for in the month of December, 1289, the Comune of Pisa sent to the Conte Guido di Montefeltro, who was then

* "Feciono loro mettere li ferri, e tenere e guardare presi in del Palasso del Popolo più di xx dì, in fine che fu acconcia la pregione della Torre dei Gualandi da sette vie. E poi ve li feciano mettere entro in dela dicta pregione, che fu poi chiamata la pregione della fame."—(*Fragmenta Historiæ Pisanæ*, apud Muratori, Tom xxiv.)

under banishment at Asti, to come and be their Podestà and Captain of the People, with an annual salary of 10,000 florins for three years, to which he consented. It would appear by the author of the "Fragment," that a heavy sum of money (£5000), had been required of Ugolino as the price of his liberation and that of his children. Various other imposts laid on them had been paid, and the Count was informed, that unless he paid this money by the month of March he must die. When the Conte Guido arrived at Pisa on the 13th of March, the family were in great distress for food, Gaddo and Uguccione are said to have been already dead, and the others died during the week, because the required money was not forthcoming.

This account, however, seems improbable, and is at variance with other statements more generally received. "Had the Conte Guido arrived in Pisa earlier, before any deaths had taken place, it was believed," adds this author, "that he would have saved them all. In the "*Annali di Pisa*," we are told that the Conte Guido did not take possession of the government till May 13th, 1289. There is a question, how long Ugolino and his children were confined in the tower where they died,—whether many months or only a short time. Authorities are divided on this subject; but the prevalent opinion is, that they were kept there from August to March. Dante here does not help us, for the reading (*Inferno* xxxiii. 26) "*più lune*" is doubtful. Benvenuto da Imola objected to it as inconsistent with historical fact.

Buti relates the locking of the prison door, or rather the fastening it up with nails, as Mr. Panizzi understands, as if it had been done immediately after the victims had been consigned to this dungeon, where the Archbishop could secretly carry out his atrocious design, "*che in publico non ebbe ardimento di farli morire.*" If what Villani relates be true, the purpose of the Prelate must have been sufficiently obvious; he states that as death approached, the wretched Ugolino cried aloud for the sacrament of penitence, but neither priest nor friar was permitted to visit him. This, however, is very improbable. After eight days, the bodies of these victims of archiepiscopal vengeance were rolled up in the matting of the prison floor, and, like felons, with the irons on their legs, were buried in the cloister of the church of San Francesco, by the side of the steps leading from the first cloister into the church. Buti states that when the grave was opened in the fourteenth century, he saw the irons taken out. In 1822, on restoring the pavement, the remains were discovered, and were carelessly thrown together beneath the spot where, in 1848, was a stone with the name of Dottore Alessandro Vannuchi.

The wife of Ugolino was the Contessa di Montegemoli of Siena. Besides the sons already mentioned, he had two others; one named Banduccio, who in 1285 married Manfredina, daughter of Manfredi Malaspina, Marquis of Villafranca; (Buti) the other Bonifazio, who in 1284 was elected Captain-General of Sardinia, and in 1313 died in

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Pisa highly respected. (*Annali di Pisa*). Ugolino's private palace was on the Lung' Arno, in the parish of San Sepolcro, and was demolished. It had been the scene of many brilliant festivals and sumptuous banquets; for the Count was highly connected and lived in great splendour. Villani relates an anecdote which shows how he gloried in his prosperity. On an occasion of his birthday, giving a grand entertainment, at which all his sons and grandsons, and all his lineage and relations, men and women, with great pomp and circumstances of rejoicing were assembled, he took by the hand a valiant gentleman of courtly manners, named Marco Lombardo, and, having showed him his grandeur and power, asked what he thought of it all. The cautious Marco replied, "Your lordship is better prepared to receive a misfortune than any baron in Italy." "How?" inquired the Count, taking suspicion at his words. Marco answered, "Because nothing is wanting to you but the anger of God." And soon this fell upon him. Villani concludes his narrative by remarking, that for this atrocious act, the Pisans were deservedly reprobated wherever their cruelty was known; for although the Count might have deserved death, his children and grandchildren did not; a sentiment in which the historian echoes the indignant denouncement of the Poet, imprecating the vengeance of heaven on the guilty city, for the murder of the innocent children.

The Count Ugolino to a violent and tyrannical temper, which often hurried him to lamentable

excesses, added an unscrupulous ambition of power which defeated the very object he sought to attain. His chief crime was consenting to the betrayal of his grandson to gratify his desire to rule alone. Had he remained in cordial agreement with Nino, the cruel death which fell upon him and his children would have been averted. The Archbishop, who was the more guilty of the two, escaped retribution here, and died quietly in his bed at Viterbo, in 1295.

The Conte Guido di Montefeltro, by his capacity and energy, soon restored the affairs of the Pisans, and recovered for them the territory which had been yielded to their neighbours. He built the Torre Ghibelina with the materials of the demolished houses of the Guelfs, and so frightened the Florentines by his personal prowess, that at the sight of him, they ran away, crying out "*Ecco la volpe!*" He was a rigid disciplinarian, and punished with death a nephew who had fought contrary to orders, though he had gained a victory. The Pisans, like their neighbours, seem to have had a secret dread of him, and when he had succeeded in restoring the state to rank and honour, before his stipulated time had expired, they desired to get rid of him and to make peace with the Florentines by giving up again the *castelli* which he had recovered. Had they retained the Conte Guido in their service he would have secured for them an honorable peace. As it was, they only hastened their own ruin. The Count informed the council that he knew of their designs, demanded his salary, and resolved to depart. The council wished

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him to remain; he replied by the homely proverb "*Cauli riscaldati non sono buoni.*" And so, disgusted with the ungrateful Pisans, he left them; and retiring from the world, became a *cordigliero*. (See *Monumenta Pisana*). Dante has given a full-length of him, as drawn by himself. (*Inferno*, xxvii. 67—129.

In 1406, the Pisans were forced to yield up their city to the Florentinee; and a century later, in 1509, the Republic ceased to exist.

Our Addison described Pisa in his time as "the shell of a large city without inhabitants." It is very much so in our own A patrician dignity still haunts its wide and well-paved streets, lined with spacious and once handsome houses; and its magnificent quays along the banks of the Arno attest, with their princely palaces, its former prosperity—but all are now wrapt in silence and repose. No pawing steede, richly caparisoned, stand before those mansions; no groups in gay liveries hang about their gatee; no splendid equipagee issue from those lofty portals; the inmates, if any, are invisible; few carriages save the rickety coach of the venerable Archbishop, and the reckless wheels of the noisy *Vetturini* disturb the dream of ancient glory; no gilded galleys ride on Arno's stream; no clam'rous trumpets sound to martial deeds; a few lazy barges push up and down between Pisa and Florence; and there is a rolling of hollow drums when the sun has set, but little more. Yet Pisa has still her pleasant places, her precious treasures, and her choice attractions. If less martial, she is more learned; if less wealthy,

more contented; if less ambitious, more peaceful. And though many things below have altered, though the land has changed its level, and the sea has migrated, and strangers have come to lodge in her palaces, yet the air is as pure and salubrious, the sky as bright as ever, and the charms of the Lung'Arno never pall. There is a quiet beauty about Pisa, which those who love tranquillity can best appreciate. Cheerful without vulgarity, and calm without monotony, to persons in delicate health Pisa is a paradise, to the meditative a select retreat. No one can rob her of her ancient fame, and in the revival of Italian art Pisa took the lead, Buschetto, Niccola, and Giunta were her citizens. But higher claims than these require a note:

> From generous sources graceful virtues spring,
> Delighting here, as in their native sphere,
> While flourishes, in close affinity,*
> A sacred tree of intellectual growth,
> From which the author gather'd his first fruits
> In DANTE ALLIGHIERI'S honour'd name.

FINIS.

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